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# USSR Report

MILITARY AFFAIRS

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EXCERPTS FROM BOOK ON IDEOLOGICAL WORK IN SOVIET ARMED FORCES

Moscow IDEOLOGICHESKAYA RABOTA V SOVETSKIKH VOORUZHENNYKH SILAKH in Russian  
1978 pp 1, 2 311-312, 3-6, 7-48, 80, 116, 146-147, 177-182, 214, 250, 286,  
306-310

[Annotation, Table of Contents, Introduction, Chapter 1, Excerpts of  
Chapters 2 to 9, and conclusion of book by Army General A. A. Yepishev,  
Voyenizdat, 50,000 copies, 312 pages; passages enclosed in slantlines  
printed in boldface]

Annotation

The book examines urgent problems in ideological work in the Soviet Armed  
Forces, Marxist-Leninist tempering of military personnel, and the heroic-  
patriotic indoctrination of the youth. Considerable attention is devoted  
to problems of ideological competition in military questions and to the  
exposure of imperialism's reactionary ideology and aggressive policy.

It is intended for a broad range of readers.

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#### INTRODUCTION

Our party always follows the Lenin legacy in a steadfast manner, attaching special significance to the indoctrination of the masses' consciousness. At the 25th CPSU Congress it was stressed that "the party considers as its constant concern the instilling of communist consciousness and the readiness, will, and ability to build communism." It is impossible to create the material and technical base for communism and mold communist social relations without the comprehensive development of the communist society's builder and his high level of consciousness. Therefore, the party solves all these tasks in an integrated manner, with a united front.

Ideological work is always at our party's center of attention. There is no sector of public life and the productive activity of the Soviet people which would be outside the sphere of ideological influence. Now, ideology and the party's ideological work have become a powerful spiritual impellent whose role is continuously increasing. We can name two determining groups of factors for the increase in the role of the CPSU's ideological work under contemporary conditions.

/Internal factors/ express the necessity for the further comprehensive ideological substantiation and ensuring of communist construction and the solution of its problems. They are the theoretical work of the party, the forecasting of social phenomena, the upbringing of the new man, the creation of a socialist moral climate in the collectives, the strengthening of the friendship of peoples, and other most important questions in the solution of which the role of ideological means is exceptionally great. The process of communist construction presumes with objective necessity the strengthening of attention to ideological problems.

/External factors/ make for the increase in the significance of ideological work; they are expressed in the intensification of the struggle of ideas-- Marxist-Leninist and bourgeois ideas. In the new international situation, when a certain normalization of relations between states with different social systems has been noted thanks to the efforts of the CPSU and the other fraternal parties, the ideological struggle has not only not weakened but has become noticeably more aggravated. Militaristic circles, the military-industrial complex, "rabid people" of all possible types, and opportunists of all hues

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are intensifying ideological diversion against the socialist world. In this connection steps, measures and actions for the organization and implementation of ideological counteraction against bourgeois influence are occupying an ever greater place in ideological work. It can be manifested in various forms and spheres. And therefore, as was stressed in the decree of the CC CPSU, "On the condition of and measures for improving lecture propaganda" (March 1978), the instilling of irreconcilability toward bourgeois, Maoist, and revisionist ideology steps forth as one of the most important tasks of ideological work. Under contemporary conditions the status of relations between states and the political struggle in the international arena have the most direct influence on problems of ideological competition and many questions in the indoctrination of people. At the contemporary stage of communist construction, when the process of social development has accelerated, the scales of economic construction have increased, the education and culture of the Soviet people are increasing rapidly, and when the principles of peaceful coexistence are being confirmed in the international arena while the ideological struggle is expanding and becoming more complex at the same time, /the significance of ideological work and attention to it by the entire party are growing immeasurably/.

It is well known that in the Soviet Armed Forces all ideological work is organized in complete conformance with the directives and decisions of our party which is devoting untiring attention to questions of the communist indoctrination of the Soviet people and their ideological tempering.

The decree of the CC CPSU, "On the tasks of party training in light of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress" (June 1976), stresses that ideological work and Marxist-Leninist training are called upon to arm the communists and all workers with the knowledge of the ideological heritage of Marx-Engels-Lenin and the historical experience of the CPSU, with a clear understanding of party policy, and with the ability to defend the principles of communist ideology, Soviet patriotism, and proletarian internationalism. They should be able to evaluate new phenomena in social life from scientific positions and to draw correct conclusions for practical work.<sup>1</sup> These tasks can be accomplished by interesting, well organized, and well thought out ideological work which embraces all people and all armed forces personnel with its influence. Thus, ideological work as a specific spiritual factor is now a mighty accelerator in the solution of economic, social, and political tasks and problems in military organizational development. The decree of the CC CPSU mentioned above served as a new strong impulse for increasing the quality and effectiveness of ideological work. This document examines a broad range of questions whose solution will permit a substantial improvement in the effectiveness of the forms and methods of ideological work and reinforcing its tie with life and the practice of communist construction.

It is now impossible to imagine one area of military activity, combat and political training, combat alert duty, measures for strengthening military discipline and organization, or cultural leisure time and living conditions

<sup>1</sup> See PRAVDA, 12 June 1976.

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outside the sphere of ideological influence. As a result of the intensifying of ideological influence in the units and on the ships, new positions have been attained in improving military skill and combat readiness and in the moral-political and psychological tempering of the personnel. The main thing is to ensure a steady rise in the ideological level and effectiveness of ideological work.

The successful accomplishment of this task can be attained primarily by a further improvement in the training and skill of ideological workers--not only organizational propagandists and lecturers, but also the broad range of party and Komsomol activists who are conducting ideological-indoctrinational work with the men. In considerable measure, the success of the struggle for improving the combat readiness of the troops, initiating socialist competition, and strengthening military discipline depends on the ideological tempering, level of theoretical preparation, and methodological skill of the personnel on the ideological front.

Here, it is important to consider that the ideological personnel are not only the people who, according to the "table of organization," are supposed to be engaged in ideological indoctrination, but also all generals, officers, warrant officers [praporshchik, michman], and all those who are involved in questions of training and indoctrination. This requirement follows directly from the decree of the CC CPSU, "On raising the role of verbal political agitation in implementing the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress." In it, it states that "it is important to develop in every way the Lenin tradition of constant and mandatory participation of supervisory personnel in the political indoctrination of the workers, using varied work forms for these purposes."

This work, in which some materials by the author from publications already known to the reader are also used, is devoted to the examination of a number of urgent problems of ideological work in the Armed Forces at the contemporary stage which, as the author hopes, may be of value to ideological personnel of the Armed Forces who are conducting important work in strengthening ideological influence on all aspects of life in the Armed Forces.

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## PART I. IDEOLOGICAL WORK AND WAYS TO INCREASE ITS EFFECTIVENESS

### Chapter 1. Marxism-Leninism as the Theoretical Basis for Party Activity

The strength of our system is in the consciousness of the masses and in the presence of communist ideology with which to arm the party and the people. It was stressed at the 25th CPSU Congress that the CPSU is building the matter of communist indoctrination, just as all revolutionary-transforming activity, on the firm foundation of Marxist-Leninist theory. Marxism-Leninism is the only reliable basis for the elaboration of the correct strategy and tactics. It gives us an understanding of historical perspective and helps us to determine directions for development for many years in the future and to become oriented correctly in international events.

The ideology of Marxism-Leninism, which expresses the fundamental class interests of the working masses, has become the practice for millions of people. Already long ago, communism was transformed from "a vision roaming about Europe" into a mighty reality which is determining the course of contemporary world development. The force of Marxism-Leninism's ideas is that reflecting actual social processes in a uniquely correct manner, they permit the working masses to transform the world in a fundamental manner.

Marxist-Leninist ideology provides the Communist Party with the opportunity to pose in a timely manner and solve correctly the problems which life puts forward. In its development, it relies on the achievements of revolutionary practice and places the mighty weapon of social foresight in the hands of the fighters for communism. The creative experience of the world revolutionary movement and the tremendous achievements of the Soviet Union, which has built a developed socialist society, and of all the fraternal socialist countries are concentrated in Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism discloses specific ways and methods for the creation of the material-technical base for communism, improvement of social relations, and the upbringing of the new man. Marxism-Leninism is arming the builders of a new society with a scientific theory for the defense of socialist achievements--with Marxist-Leninist teaching on war and the army.

We find exhaustive answers to various questions of communist construction in the works of K. Marx, F. Engels, and V. I. Lenin. They worked out a harmonious

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system of philosophical, economic, and socio-political knowledge. Gigantic erudition, a brilliant dialectical intellect, profound knowledge of life, and great revolutionary passion permitted these Titans to substantiate the process of the struggle for communism in a comprehensive and scientific manner.

Creatively developing Marxism under new historical conditions, V. I. Lenin headed the struggle of the proletariat and of all workers for implementation of the ideas of scientific communism in actual social practice. All his life was given completely to the great cause of freeing the workers from the oppression of capital. The fundamental turn in the history of mankind--the turn from capitalism to socialism--is connected with the name of Lenin, creator of the Communist Party, and the inspirer and organizer of the Great October Socialist Revolution. "Lenin's life was an exploit," it is stressed in the Theses of the CC CPSU, "On the 100th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin." "It is a life which was spent in the creative work of thought and tireless revolutionary action, in ideological and political battles. Lenin embodied the most outstanding features of the proletarian revolutionary: a mighty intellect, a will which overcame everything, a sacred hatred for slavery and oppression, revolutionary passion, consistent internationalism, boundless faith in the creative forces of the masses, and tremendous organizer genius."

Lenin steadfastly followed the call of Marx not only to /explain/ the world, but also to /change/ it. The great leader was the first one in history to show himself as a model of the organic combination of revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice, high flight of creative thought, and unsurpassed skill of the organizer of the proletariat's class struggle. Dozens of books and pamphlets, thousands of articles, reports, and speeches, letters and notes--this is the literary heritage of the leader who soaked in all the wisdom of revolutionary experience and knowledge. A great number of meetings and talks with workers, peasants, soldiers, and figures of science and culture, the colossal labor of the organizer, tribune, and leader--this is the complete Lenin.

The correctness and profound historical righteousness of his deeds and thoughts were confirmed by the entire course of social development and the experience of the world revolutionary movement. Leninism was and remains the banner of communist construction and the methodology of revolutionary thinking and revolutionary action. The great triumph of Leninism's ideas finds deep expression in the invincible progressive development of Soviet society, in the creative deeds of the entire socialist commonwealth, and in the development of the world revolutionary process.

1. Marxist-Leninist ideology and problems of communist construction.  
Military organizational development as its component part

The tireless struggle for the realization of the Lenin ideals and for the attainment of the great goal--communism--was and remains the basic content of the party's activity and the core of the entire socio-political and spiritual life of the Soviet people. "Today's accomplishments of the Soviet people," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 25th CPSU Congress, "are the direct continuation of the cause of October. They are the practical embodiment of the

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great Lenin's ideas. Our party is loyal and will always be loyal to this cause, to these ideas!"

Accomplishing the difficult tasks of internal development successfully, we recall Lenin's words to the effect that the basis for the growth in socialism's influence and authority consists of its internal achievements. "...We are having our main influence on the international revolution," noted V. I. Lenin, "by our economic policy."<sup>1</sup>

Increasing their efforts in the struggle for complete realization of the tasks for the Tenth Five-Year Plan, the Soviet people are steadily approaching the historic moment of accomplishing the great triune social task which was ordained by V. I. Lenin: the creation of the material-technical base for communism, the molding of communist social relations, and the upbringing of the new man. The decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and a number of decrees of our party's Central Committee on specific questions in the further improvement of a developed socialist society which are being materialized in specific achievements of the economy and culture and in the growth of communist consciousness have become a new stage in the accomplishment of this task. All this also has a direct influence on the content, nature, and special features of military organizational development and further improvement in the military organization of a developed socialist society. One can trace how its development in the socio-political, economic, and spiritual spheres affects the solution of the most important problems in military organizational development which is being conducted in strict conformance with the well-known Lenin propositions in this field.

/In the socio-political field/ our society has attained a new, high stage of social maturity which is characterized by the further convergence of the working class and the peasantry and intellectuals and by the gradual overcoming of the substantial differences between the city and village and between mental and physical labor. The process of forming a socially homogeneous society is continuing and the convergence of nations and nationalities is occurring. The moral-political unity of our society is becoming exceptionally firm. Our entire life provides a great number of confirmations of the Lenin thesis concerning the decisive role of the popular masses in communist construction. "The living creativity of the masses," said V. I. Lenin, "this is the basic factor of the new public.... Living, creative socialism is the creation of the popular masses themselves."<sup>2</sup>

Changes in social structure confirm with new force the correctness of Lenin's ideas concerning the historic role of the working class. Its revolutionary character, discipline, organization, and collectivism determine its leading position in the system of socialist social relations. Its convergence with the other class of our society, the kolkhoz peasantry in which more and more features which are common with the workers are appearing, is occurring by means of a further strengthening of the political basis of our society-- the

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Complete Works], Vol 43, p 341.

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy," Vol 35, p 57.

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alliance of the working class and the peasantry. Substantial shifts have occurred in the composition and appearance of the intelligentsia which are expressed primarily in its high rates of growth and in its convergence with the working class and peasantry. The further development of socialist democracy and state and public organizations provides exceptionally favorable conditions and a healthy moral climate for the creative activity of all of our country's citizens.

The results of the qualitative changes in the socio-political field strengthen even more the social base of the Soviet Armed Forces which are an exact copy and exact model of their society. The growth in the size of the working class, and it is now more than 55 percent of the country's population, has had a favorable effect on the qualitative composition of the Armed Forces. The drawing together of classes and social groups in society led to where now it is no longer easy to distinguish the worker, peasant, and representative of the intelligentsia by educational level, culture, and political maturity in the military collective.

The ever greater social homogeneity and a certain equalization of the degree of education permit improving the program for combat training even further and reducing the times for the mastery of specific specialties.

Any troop subunit or unit is a multinational collective. Representatives of more than 100 nations and nationalities are serving in the Soviet Armed Forces. Each of them understands deeply, with all his heart, that he is first of all a Soviet person, and only then a Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian, Kazakh, or Georgian. "He is primarily proud of the fact," it is stressed in the decree of the party Central Committee on preparations for the 50th anniversary of the Soviet state, "that he is a citizen of the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." The community of fates, goals, and ideology has made Soviet patriotism common and international.

In the social plane of military organizational development, one cannot fail to see that the Armed Forces have begun to play an ever greater indoctrinational role, being a unique "university" for the male portion of the country's population. In speaking at the 18th Komsomol Congress, L. I. Brezhnev stressed that, coming into the army, "the youth undergoes genuine tempering. Here, it not only assimilates organization and discipline but it also displays high consciousness, selflessness, and sometimes even genuine heroism."

The Soviet servicemen are taking a most active part in the public life of the country. Several thousand servicemen are deputies to Soviets, are members of leading party and Komsomol organs, and many thousands participate in the most varied social and cultural measures which are conducted by local party and Soviet organs.

The socio-political development of our society is confirming with special force the historic significance of the central, most urgent mission of the Armed Forces--to be in constant combat readiness, and it also shows that more and more favorable conditions are being created by the party for the successful

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accomplishment of this task. Combat readiness as a specific state of the Armed Forces which ensures the disruption of any aggressive intrigues has become a factor of tremendous historical, social significance because only in this manner can the mission of ensuring the security of the socialist state be accomplished.

Consequently, realization of the party's decisions in the area of social policy leads to a further development of society's social homogeneity, an ever greater drawing together of nations, a rise in the level of the workers' material well-being, and an increase in their cultural and public activity. In this very way, exceptionally favorable conditions are created for the consistent improvement of the entire military organization. The most essential preconditions for this are: the further strengthening of the Armed Forces' social base, the moral-political unity of the army and the people, and a rise in the cultural level of the workers.

The social development of society /is linked with economic development/in the closest manner. Economics are the basis for the solution of all social tasks. V. I. Lenin taught that the main element must be distinguished from the great variety of economic tasks. An increase in the effectiveness of public production and an increase in the productivity of labor are such a link. Now, with the level of the socialist economy which has been attained, we have real possibilities to ensure its rapid growth in the future, too.

The decisions of the July (1978) plenum of the party's Central Committee have great significance for the successful accomplishment of the socio-economic program which was adopted by the 25th CPSU Congress. The plenum heard the report of the General Secretary of the CC CPSU, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "On the further development of agriculture in the USSR," and adopted the appropriate decree. The report provided a comprehensive, profoundly scientific analysis of the party's policy and practical activity in the development of socialist agriculture at the contemporary stage and defined the basic paths and specific measures for its further rise. Accomplishment of the tasks posed by the plenum will ensure a new growth in the material and spiritual might of the motherland and its defensive capability and will make the life of the Soviet people even better and more secure.

As a result of the selfless labor of the city and village workers, a steady growth in the country's national income is ensured and a considerable rise in the material and cultural standard of living of the entire people is occurring.

Realization of the party's decisions in the economic area also permits accomplishing such an exceptionally important task of military organizational development as the improvement and further development of the material and technical base for the defensive might of the Soviet state. Thanks to the high level of development of heavy industry and machine building, the Soviet Armed Forces are provided with all types of contemporary military equipment. The high scientific and technical level of the defense industry permits the production of the most modern models of armament and combat equipment in the necessary quantities.



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The favorable conditions which the socialist economy is creating for military organizational development in the military-technical area permit opposing the aggressors with such defensive might in the competition between the two systems as is capable of frustrating any of their intentions. At the same time, the military-technical aspect of military organizational development requires consideration of the necessity for the further solution of a number of urgent problems.

First of all, the question of maximum and effective use of science's achievements in various spheres of military affairs is more acute than ever before. In this regard, what is important here is not only the scientific and technical development of various models, systems, apparatuses, and so forth itself but, especially, the determination of trends and prospects for the development of a specific given type of armament and equipment. As a result of the sharp increase in the cost of contemporary military and technical systems errors, overestimates, and delay are absolutely impermissible here. Therefore, the correct determination of existing regular laws and trends in the development of military and technical progress permits determining its most promising directions, rates, criteria for comparative and predictive estimates, and so forth with the greatest effectiveness and expediency.

The new level of social and economic development of our society is imposing increased requirements on questions concerning the control of all elements in the state structure, including its Armed Forces. In recent years, much has been done in this area thanks to the efforts of our party. But much also remains to be done. In particular, it is necessary to accelerate the introduction of scientific achievements into the process of military organizational development and to persistently solve problems in raising the quality of training of our personnel in the control system. They must possess ideological maturity, professional competence, social responsibility, high activity, and a feeling for what is new. Despite the rapid rates in the automation of control of some processes, the decisive role in the determination of specific programs and making decisions will, as formerly, belong to man.

On the whole, one of the most urgent problems in control now is the maximum blending, in military organizational development, of the advantages which are possessed by the military organization of a developed socialist society with the capabilities which are opened up by scientific and technical progress. The contemporary level of our country's economic development also requires, at the same time, great attention to the scientific organization of military labor, by which we mean the maximum increase in its effectiveness with minimum expenditures of time, resources, and human efforts.

All these problems, which are extremely urgent in the overall complex of measures in military organizational development, require a further increase in attention to military-scientific studies and the theoretical training of personnel. In essence, the most important element in intensifying the influence of science on various aspects of military organizational development is the deepened study of Marxist-Leninist theory by each specialist and officer and

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the acquisition of military-scientific knowledge which will permit them to see the content of processes which are taking place and the reasons for the appearance of individual negative phenomena and to grasp new trends.

Thus, the further implementation of Marxist-Leninist ideas in the economic area creates favorable preconditions for the solution of material and technical questions of military organizational development. At the same time, the requirements imposed on military-scientific, management, and economic activity of our personnel are being significantly increased.

Changes in the /area of the spiritual life/ of contemporary society reflect the process of the substantial socio-economic shifts which were foreseen by V. I. Lenin. These changes occur in strict conformance with our party's plans and are an important part of communist construction. The party proceeds on the basis that communism is impossible without a high level of culture, education, social consciousness, and internal maturity of the people just as it is impossible without the appropriate material and technical base.

As a result of our party's activity on the basis of the unity of economic, socio-political, and cultural life and Marxist-Leninist ideology, the remarkable features of the Soviet man's spiritual aspect were molded: devotion to the cause of communism, socialist patriotism and internationalism, high labor and public activity, and implacability toward national and racial prejudice. The upbringing of the new man is the most brilliant victory of our party. It creates extremely favorable conditions for the molding of mature troop collectives and the training of devoted defenders of the socialist motherland.

In military organizational development, the most important task of a spiritual and ideological order is the further improvement of the entire system for the training and indoctrination of the Soviet servicemen and their moral-political and psychological training. The contemporary stage of social development, which is characterized by the intensification of the human personality's role in various military and technical systems, aggravation of the battle of ideas, and new special features of armed conflict in a possible war, is imposing increased requirements on the intellectual, moral, and physical qualities of the servicemen. A number of important ideological measures have been implemented in recent years in connection with the 100th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth, the 50th anniversary of the Soviet state, the study of materials of the 25th CPSU Congress, and the struggle for realization of the decrees of the party's Central Committee on questions of improving agitation and lecture work, the broad introduction of an integrated approach in ideological indoctrination, and the more skillful use of means of mass information. Tremendous significance in raising the level of ideological work is had by the adoption of the new Soviet constitution and the constitutions of the union republics. The skillful application of L. I. Brezhnev's recommendations which are contained in his speeches and works and in the books "Malaya Zemlya" and "Vozrozhdeniye" [Renaissance] is called upon to play an important role in the improvement of this work.

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All this assists in the successful formation of a strong morale factor in the Armed Forces which is an expression of people's spiritual readiness and ability to endure the most difficult and complex tests of contemporary war and not lose the will to struggle and for victory.

All party organizational and ideological work in the Armed Forces proceeds from the party's requirements which are set forth in the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the decrees of the party's Central Committee, and the speeches of its General Secretary and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet USSR, Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev.

When we are speaking of the moral-political and psychological training of the troops and the molding of the combat morale qualities of the men, the problem of controlling the personnel's spiritual development is extremely important. Its essence consists of coordinating the actions of various molding factors (social milieu, system of education and indoctrination, self-education and self-indoctrination). The control of spiritual development has the goal of attaining the conformance of the motives, deeds, thoughts, and behavior of people to the requirements of socialism's objective regular laws.

All these questions, which pertain to the field of military organizational development, are resolved by improving the work forms and methods of commanders, political organs, and party organizations, the strengthening of cadres of political workers, and the use of all capabilities which are provided by our socialist reality, accumulated experience, and new conclusions of science. In other words, in examining the various questions of communist construction in our country to include military organizational development, we see the profound, vivifying influence of Marxist-Leninist ideas which determine the basic direction of our socio-political development.

2. Marxism-Leninism and the International Activity of the CPSU. The Role of the Soviet Armed Forces in the Modern World

In substantiating the inevitability of the death of capitalism and the victory of socialism, V. I. Lenin noted that this process will be difficult and complex. The "ripening" of socialism in different countries will proceed unevenly, and the revolutionary process itself will embrace not only the proletariat's struggle with the bourgeoisie, but also the struggle "of all colonies and countries oppressed by imperialism, of all dependent countries against international imperialism."<sup>3</sup>

The triumph of Leninism's ideas in the international arena is expressed in the ever greater strengthening of socialism's world positions, the weakening of the capitalist system, and the increase in the might of the revolutionary current on the entire planet. Together with the other fraternal parties, the CPSU has achieved the well-known turn in international relations from the cold of the "cold War" to peaceful coexistence. Our revolutionary line in

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<sup>3</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy," Vol 39, p 327.

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international affairs is determined by the Lenin principles of Soviet foreign policy.

The entire chain of international events of the 20th century is confirmed by the conclusion of Marxism-Leninism concerning the indissolubility of the building of a communist society in the USSR with the victories of socialism in other countries and with the growth of the international revolutionary and national-liberation movement. V. I. Lenin, being absolutely convinced of the final triumph of communism's ideals on our planet, foresaw that the path to communism would be difficult. World revolution, wrote V. I. Lenin soon after the October revolution, "judging by the beginning, will continue for many years and will require many labors...."<sup>4</sup>

The CPSU and the Soviet government proceed from these very Lenin propositions in their foreign policy. At the contemporary stage, its basic goals are formulated in concentrated form in the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress.

The accomplishment of these goals is proceeding successfully. In all spheres of foreign policy activity--in relations with socialist countries, with the "third world," with capitalist states--the CC CPSU and the Soviet government proceed from the Lenin principles of socialist foreign policy which determine our strictly class position on any questions of international life.

In implementing the Lenin behest concerning the strengthening and development of proletarian solidarity with the workers of all countries in every way, the CPSU considers its main task in international activity to be the comprehensive development of the USSR's collaboration with the fraternal socialist countries and the /strengthening of the world socialist system's international positions/. This follows objectively from the international nature of Leninism and the community of socio-political goals of the socialist states which express the fundamental interests of the workers. Despite certain complexities and contradictions of social development, the experience of the last years confirms convincingly the immutable fact that in relations between socialist countries the dominant trend is their further solidarity and the strengthening of friendship and comprehensive collaboration. It is this very thing which permits the world socialist system to step forth in the role of main motive force for historical progress and the most important factor in restraining and frustrating the aggressive aspirations of certain reactionary circles. The socialist commonwealth serves as the main bulwark of the world communist and worker movement and contributes to its solidarity and the increase in the effectiveness of social actions.

The socialist commonwealth graphically shows the tremendous advantages of the new society in which there is no place for the exploitation of man by man and national oppression and other social vices inherent to the capitalist system have been eliminated. Such a society is controlled by the workers themselves and, as V. I. Lenin taught, can provide completely the many-sided material and

<sup>4</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy," Vol 39, p 328.

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spiritual interests of the workers. In the course of socialist construction in the fraternal countries the strengthening of the leading role of the communist and workers' parties is continuing and the moral-political unity of society is becoming stronger and stronger.

In the economic sphere, the economic potential of the socialist states is growing steadily and its weight and role in world economic ties are increasing. More than one quarter of the entire world national income is the share of CEMA participant countries. In many indices, the CEMA countries have far outstripped the states of the "Common Market."

Socialism's political, economic, and ideological influence in the world is growing steadily. The share of the socialist countries in world production today is about 40 percent and is continuing to grow steadily. The socialist commonwealth is demonstrating its advantages more and more brightly in various areas of public life and is showing that only socialism can ensure the comprehensive development of the personality and social justice. All this permits the world socialist system to step forth as the basic motive force of historical progress.

The material well-being of the workers of the socialist countries is growing steadily on the basis of big economic successes. The new steps undertaken by the fraternal countries on the path to the realization of the Integrated Program for the further deepening and improvement of the collaboration of the socialist states and their integration are creating broad prospects for a rapid growth in the influence of socialism on world affairs. The contemporary development of the socialist commonwealth confirms the correctness of V. I. Lenin who foresaw that victorious socialism will exert the main revolutionizing influence on the rest of the world by force of example: by economic successes, the achievements of culture, and internationalistic policy.

Life has irrefutably confirmed the immutability of the Lenin propositions concerning the general regular laws of socialist construction.

As was stressed at the 25th CPSU Congress, in their struggle communists proceed from the general regular laws of revolutionary development and the building of socialism and communism. These regular laws, reflected in the theory of Marxism-Leninism and confirmed by practice, were formulated collectively in detailed form by international conferences of the fraternal parties. The profound understanding of these common regular laws and reliance on them in combination with a creative approach and consideration of the specific conditions in each country were and remain an inherent feature of Marxist-Leninists.

One of the most important conditions for the further strengthening of socialism's world positions is the improvement of the Warsaw Pact Organization which for almost 20 years already has served as the reliable guarantee of socialism's security and an important stabilizing factor in international relations. And as long as the NATO bloc is preserved, said L. I. Brezhnev at the 25th CPSU Congress, and as long as militaristic circles conduct the arms race, our

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country, together with the other participants in the Warsaw Pact, will strengthen this military-political alliance.

The world socialist commonwealth, being the prototype of a world communist society whose general features were predicted by the great Lenin, is on a new upsurge. Close class collaboration permits the fraternal countries of socialism to enrich one another with experience, work out the fundamental problems of socialism and communism jointly, find the most efficient forms of economic ties, collectively determine the general line in foreign-policy affairs, and exchange opinions on questions of ideology and culture.

Another important direction of the foreign-policy activity of the CPSU and the Soviet state is /the rendering of comprehensive assistance to national-liberation movements and progressive regimes/ and comprehensive assistance in their anti-imperialist struggle. Our party's activity in this direction is caused by the fact that the Lenin conclusion concerning the unity of social and national liberation is becoming more and more timely. Speaking at the Third Comintern Congress in 1921, V. I. Lenin formulated a conclusion of exceptional importance. "...It is absolutely clear," he said, "that in the coming decisive battles of world revolution the movement of the majority of the Earth's population, which is initially directed toward national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism and, perhaps, is playing a much greater revolutionary role than we expect."<sup>5</sup>

Now, when imperialism's colonial system has been eliminated, the struggle of peoples not only for national liberation but also for social liberation is coming to the foreground more and more noticeably.

The Soviet Union, loyal to the Lenin principle of proletarian internationalism, is rendering broad assistance in various forms to the peoples who are struggling for national liberation and independence and against imperialist aggression. The victory of the heroic Vietnamese people became possible to a decisive degree because they were supported in every way by the USSR, other fraternal countries, and progressive forces of the entire world. In the numerous local wars which were unleashed by the imperialists, which V. I. Lenin called the small wars of imperialism, the latter is proceeding "with all savagery, bestiality, and crimes..."<sup>6</sup> The class watershed of contemporary world forces can be seen as clearly as possible in this fact: on the one hand--the imperialist forces which are striving to place obstacles in the path of the world revolutionary process with the aid of local wars; on the other--the forces of socialism which are rendering comprehensive support to the victims of aggression, the peoples which are struggling for national and social liberation. Often, now, such wars are presented as one of the forms of competition of the two systems, as if focussed on one or another area of the planet. Thanks to the socialist system's support for those countries which have been

<sup>5</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy," Vol 44, p 38.

<sup>6</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy," Vol 32, p 86; Vol 23, p 166.

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subjected to aggression imperialism, which has unleashed more than 30 local wars and armed conflicts in the last decades, could not win a military victory in one of them.

The Soviet Union's attitude toward the complex processes in the developing countries, it was noted at the 25th CPSU Congress, is clear and definite. The Soviet Union does not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and peoples. But we do not hide our views. In the developing countries, just as everywhere, we are on the side of the forces of progress, democracy, and national independence and our attitude toward them is the same as our attitudes toward our friends and comrades in the struggle.

V. I. Lenin's foresight to the effect that the "awakening" of the oppressed peoples is inevitable is being confirmed hourly. There is a tremendous reserve for the world anti-imperialist front in their increasing activity. The peoples cannot put up ad infinitum with the fact that the imperialists are systematically plundering many countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. They are pumping out billions of dollars annually from the "third world." At the same time, in accordance with data published by the UN on the food situation in the world, today 375 million people are living on the edge of death by starvation. The basic reason for all these ills is imperialism. And today, the angry revealing words of V. I. Lenin sound with new force. "Wherever you may look," he wrote, "at each step you encounter tasks which mankind is fully able to accomplish /immediately/ [in italics]. Capitalism interferes...."

"Civilization, freedom, and wealth under capitalism summon the thought of an overstuffed rich man who rots while alive and doesn't allow the young to live."<sup>7</sup> Despite the fact that contemporary imperialism is striving to adapt to new, rapidly changing conditions and, with the aid of various means, is trying to retard and hold back the world revolutionary process, it will not be able to stop the liberation struggle of the peoples. The workers of the countries in which social injustice still predominates are struggling ever more actively against the omnipotence of the monopolies and for their class interests. Under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist parties and with the increasing support of the Soviet Union, other socialist countries, and all progressive forces of mankind, they will attain the final goals of the liberation struggle against capitalism.

Finally, an important area for the foreign-policy activity of our party and state is /the further development of relations with capitalist countries/. The basis of our policy in this area consists of the Lenin principle of peaceful coexistence which envisages the combination of the firm repelling of aggressive circles with a constructive line for the regularization of urgent international problems and the maintenance of normal relations with states which belong to a different social system.

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<sup>7</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy," Vol 24, p 17.

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At the dawn of the Soviet state's existence, V. I. Lenin proved both the objective inevitability of the coexistence of states with different systems and the desirability and expediency of such coexistence. At its basis, taught V. I. Lenin, are the worldwide economic ties. "...The interests of all capitalist powers," said V. I. Lenin at the 11th Congress of the RKP(b) [Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks)], "require the development, regularization, and expansion of trade with Russia. And once interests of this type exist, we can have disputes, we can quarrel, we can diverge in different directions... but all the same, in the end this basic economic necessity will open the way by itself."<sup>8</sup> Here, V. I. Lenin taught that peaceful coexistence is not only a principle of international relations of states with different systems, but also a specific form of the class struggle. "...Having won state authority," he stressed, "the proletariat does not stop its class struggle with this but continues it in a different form, by other means."<sup>9</sup> And today's struggle by the CPSU and other fraternal parties for realization of the Program of Peace does not at all mean some sort of "cohabitation" with the world of capital as the "leftist" elements assert.

In speaking of peaceful coexistence as a principle of mutual relations of states with different social systems, we recall that peaceful coexistence is at the same time a specific form of the class struggle. This specific character consists of the fact that political means, economic competition, ideological struggle, and other forms except for armed force are used in the competition of the two worlds.

Peaceful coexistence, which presumes economic, technical, scientific, and cultural collaboration, also means constant readiness to frustrate any aggressive sorties of imperialism. It is also very important to stress this because military conflicts are not ceasing on the planet; the flywheel of the arms race has not begun to rotate more slowly; the ominous alliance of the professional militarists with the monopolies has not abandoned its goals. Each year, the military budgets of the countries in the North Atlantic Bloc increase by 3 to 5 billion dollars; the militarization of all public life of the imperialist states is continuing.

It is with special necessity that all this makes for a further increase in the defensive might of the socialist system and for constant readiness to defend the great revolutionary achievements. As historical experience shows, the underestimation of military questions or the weakness of the armed forces in the revolutionary movement inevitably led to its defeat. Therefore, the most important function of the socialist armed forces is /ensuring favorable external conditions for the building of socialism and communism/ and defense against the aggressor's attack.

It is well known that the defense of socialism is not accomplished by military means alone. The organization of the defense includes the most varied spheres of public life: economics, politics, ideology, and culture. Military efforts

<sup>8</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy," Vol 45, p 71.

<sup>9</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy," Vol 40, p 18.



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always, and now in particular, rely on the might of the economic, moral-political, and scientific potentials. The organization of socialism's defense, V. I. Lenin taught, will be necessary as long as the threat of imperialist attack exists. In this regard, this threat may be realized, as modern history shows, not only by means of direct attacks against socialist countries, but also by means of so-called "quiet counterrevolution," subversive actions, and attempts at the "disintegration" and "break-up" of socialism from within.

In a number of cases the forces of militarism have now been forced to retreat and reckon with the new realities. But these forces have not yet been rendered harmless and the danger of war has not been completely removed. In many capitalist countries the material preparations for war not only have not weakened, but they are intensifying. The determining tone is set here by the military blocs of imperialism and, primarily, NATO. The military budgets which were approved for 1978 in the United States and several other capitalist countries became record budgets for these states.

The Beijing leadership is playing a provocative role in international affairs. The Chinese leaders are now openly supporting the most reactionary, militaristic forces of imperialism. Beijing systematically comes out against the policy of detente and is waging shameless anti-Soviet propaganda.

We cannot fail to consider that today, when it is obvious to all that the Program for Peace is being realized successfully, as was noted at the 25th CPSU Congress, the opponents of a relaxation of tension and "hawks" and "rabid people" of every possible type are again trying more and more actively to push the world into the lap of the "cold war" and direct military confrontation. All this means that the historic responsibility of the Soviet Armed Forces and of the armies of the Warsaw Pact countries has increased even more. The function of defending the socialist fatherland with the Soviet Armed Forces which was formulated and substantiated by V. I. Lenin is being realized in several directions under contemporary conditions.

The most important direction in the implementation of the function of defense by our army is ensuring the security of the Soviet state and protecting the creative labor of the Soviet people. In peacetime, the Armed Forces accomplish this mission by maintaining constant combat readiness to repel a possible aggressor attack and decisively suppress provocative acts on the part of imperialism against our country. Here, it is important to stress that the defense of socialism is not only the sphere of military affairs; it encompasses all areas of social life: economics, culture, politics, and ideology. Military efforts rely on the might of the country's moral-political, economic and scientific potentials.

Such an aspect of the Soviet Armed Forces' function as ensuring the security of the entire commonwealth of socialist countries is also arising and receiving development with the formation of the world socialist system. The accomplishment of this task is being implemented by the joint efforts of the Warsaw Pact armies. The armed forces of the allied states are in a high stage of readiness and capable of guaranteeing the peaceful labor of the fraternal peoples.

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Following Lenin's behests, under new historic conditions the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries are ensuring the military defense of socialism by the joint efforts of all the peoples of our countries and their armies. Now, imperialism is being opposed by the mighty socialist system which possesses inexhaustible material resources and tremendous ideological might. Single goals, a common ideology, and the international nature of relations between socialist countries permit them to conduct a coordinated foreign policy, strengthen their friendship and brotherhood, and decisively rebuff the onslaughts of imperialism.

In the function of the Armed Forces of the Soviet state, in our time greater and greater significance is acquired by one of its aspects: that of ensuring international security and preventing a new world war. "Our army," said L. I. Brezhnev, "is an army of peace..."<sup>10</sup> which guarantees favorable peaceful external conditions for the building of socialism and communism. Now, imperialism can no longer unleash wars with impunity. On the planet there is a material military force in the person of our army and the armies of the other socialist states which is reliably guarding the cause of socialism, peace, and the security of the peoples.

Thus, the Soviet Armed Forces, being an important instrument for peace, are contributing to our state's active conduct of a peace-loving and firm foreign policy and the strengthening of the principle of peaceful coexistence in relations between countries with different social systems. This also manifests the triumph of Lenin's ideas. The Soviet Armed Forces, reliably guarding the peaceful labor of the Soviet people, are at the same time a formidable warning to any adventurists and supporters of the imperialist policy course "from a position of strength."

In struggling to accomplish the decisions of the 25th Party Congress, the men of the Armed Forces always remember the Lenin behest that "any revolution is worth something only when it is able to defend itself..."<sup>11</sup> and they remember the party order: everything that has been created by the people must be reliably defended. And there are no more sacred commandments for the Soviet servicemen than these. The tireless struggle for a further increase in the combat readiness of the units and ships, the improvement of military skill, and the strengthening of military discipline, organization, and order--this is the best answer of the Soviet servicemen, the heirs and continuers of the great cause of Leninism, to the party's order.

Leninism has long since become not only a theory, but also practice for millions of people. Socialism is steadily strengthening its world positions. Of course, this does not mean a lack of problems and difficulties. But they are all difficulties of growth. And the most reliable guarantee that they will be overcome successfully and that our majestic plans and programs will be realized is the leadership of the Communist Party.

<sup>10</sup> KOMMUNIST, No 9, 1975, p 9.

<sup>11</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy," Vol 37, p 122.

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The party, taught V. I. Lenin, is "the vanguard of the proletariat which is able to take power and /lead the people/ [in italics] toward socialism, direct and organize its system, and be teacher, director, and leader of all the workers...."<sup>12</sup> The policy of the CPSU, as was demonstrated with exceptional clarity at the 25th CPSU Congress, is the living embodiment of Leninism in theory and practice, reflecting the main thing in domestic and foreign policy--the unconditional confirmation of communism's ideals in our land.

The correctness and profound historical correctness of Leninism were confirmed by the entire course of social development, by the entire experience of the world revolutionary movement. This great truth was confirmed with tremendous force once again by the 25th Congress of our Communist Party. Leninism was and remains the banner of communist construction and a methodology for revolutionary thought and revolutionary action. The great triumph of Leninism's ideas finds profound expression in the irresistible progressive development of Soviet society and the growth of the world revolutionary process.

3. The Increased Role of the CPSU in Military Organizational Development and Ideological Activity

From the first days of Soviet power's existence, the role of the Communist Party as the creator of the Great October's victory has a constant tendency toward increasing. The victory of the socialist revolution in Russia and the events which followed it showed convincingly that the military defense of socialism's achievements against the aggressive aspirations of imperialism is one of the leading regular laws of the socialist revolution and socialist construction. In order to create the necessary conditions for socialist transformations in the country, it was necessary to ensure the armed defense of the young state. This could only be done by a new type of army. From the very beginning, military organizational development was directed by V. I. Lenin and the Communist Party. Since the defense of the socialist fatherland is necessary under present conditions, we confirm "that a firm and strong army and a strong rear are necessary for defense...."<sup>13</sup> The only force capable of providing class, scientific leadership of military organizational development and the defense of the country can be the Communist Party alone.

The leading role of the Communist Party in a socialist society is caused by profound objective reasons. First of all, the party organizes all its activity by proceeding from the basic interests of the working class and of all workers. Armed with the advanced theory of Marxism-Leninism, the party is able to unite theory and practice skillfully and organize the masses for the successful accomplishment of economic, social, political, and military tasks. V. I. Lenin, in characterizing the Communist Party as the vanguard of the working class and the leader and educator of the masses who are waging the struggle for socialism, wrote: "It is impossible to wage such a struggle successfully without an iron party which is tempered in struggle, without a party which

<sup>12</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy," Vol 33, p 26.

<sup>13</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy," Vol 36, p 342.

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enjoys the confidence of everything honest in a given class, without a party which is able to follow the mood of the masses and influence it."<sup>14</sup>

The historic decree of the party Central Committee, "On the policy of the military department," which was adopted on the suggestion of V. I. Lenin in December 1918 stressed that the "policy of the military department, just as of all other departments and institutions, is conducted on the precise basis of general directives which are issued by the party in the person of its Central Committee and under its direct control."<sup>15</sup> This basic idea of Soviet military organizational development was then developed and consolidated in documents and resolutions of the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th Congresses of the RKP(b) and subsequent party decisions.

The party's leading role in military organizational development from the very beginning of the Armed Forces' creation was manifested in many directions. It was the elaboration of forms and methods for building a new army and its optimum organizational structures; questions of the material and technical support of the army and navy; organization of the process for the training and indoctrination of the personnel; the working out of doctrinal lines for Soviet military theory, and much more. There is virtually no sphere of military organizational development where the most beneficial influence of our party's political and organizational measures would not be manifested.

The wisdom and far-sightedness of the CPSU's military policy was brilliantly confirmed in the course of the Great Patriotic War when the first socialist state in the world had to fight the fascist army-- the shock detachment of world imperialism. The party's tremendous work which was accomplished in the prewar years permitted transforming our country into a mighty military camp with the start of fascism's treacherous attack on the USSR. From the moment of fascist Germany's attack, the Communist Party proceeded in all its activity on the basis of V. I. Lenin's instructions to the effect that "once the matter reaches war, everything must be subordinated to the interests of the war, all of the country's internal life must be subordinated to the war...."<sup>16</sup>

In the course of the war, the party's Central Committee conducted several party mobilizations to strengthen party-political influence in the active army. New hero-patriots came to replace in the ranks of the party the communists who fell in battles. The greatest influx of servicemen into the party was during the most difficult months of 1941-1942. By the end of the war, there were more than 3 million communists at the front. United by a common will and a common impulse workers, peasants and intellectuals, men and women, communists and Komsomols, brought up by the party and Soviet authority, proved capable of accomplishing an exploit the equal of which history had not yet known.

<sup>14</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy," Vol 41, p 27.

<sup>15</sup> "KPSS o Vooruzhennykh Silakh Sovetskogo Soyuza" [The CPSU on the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union]. Documents, 1917-1968. Moscow, 1969, p 35.

<sup>16</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy," Vol 41, p 117.

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In the postwar period, in a difficult international situation when imperialism tried to hinder the growth of the forces of socialism by military pressure, the Communist Party implemented a number of important measures which were directed toward increasing the defensive might of our state and strengthening its Armed Forces. As an exceptionally important /part of party and state activity which ensures favorable external conditions for the building of communism in our country/, Soviet military organizational development is accomplished in accordance with directives of the party which considers both the special features of the current moment as well as the long-term trends in world social development. The very basis of military organizational development, it is stressed in the Party Program, is the leadership of the Armed Forces by the Communist Party and the strengthening of the role and influence of party organizations in the Armed Forces. This cornerstone provision of Soviet military policy received especially profound confirmation and manifestation after the 24th CPSU Congress which stressed that "to strengthen the Soviet state also means to strengthen its /Armed Forces/ and to increase the defensive capability of our motherland in every possible way. And this mission remains one of the most important as long as we live in an uneasy world!"

The implementation of the expanded program for communist construction which was formulated in the Resolution of the 24th Congress and developed in the summary report of the CC CPSU to the 25th Party Congress is having the most direct influence on the content and nature of military organizational development and on the further improvement of the entire military organization of a developed socialist society.

As an objective process which is implemented in a developed socialist society to provide external security and create favorable conditions for communist construction, Soviet military organizational development proceeds from a number of basic principles. /The main one is the principle of party leadership of the Armed Forces/. It follows from the Communist Party's special role as the leading and directing force of the entire socialist society. Party leadership of the working masses and of the entire development of Soviet society is an objective law of the socialist revolution and socialist and communist construction. This regular law is manifested in full measure in the military field, too. The history of our Soviet state shows that only permanent, firm, and consistent party leadership is able to ensure the creation, development, and strengthening of the Armed Forces of the country in which socialism has triumphed in every possible way.

It is for this very reason that bourgeois theoreticians and propagandists subject to especially malicious ideological attacks the propositions of Marxism concerning the leading role of our party in military organizational development. Their activity is developing in several directions. One of them, for example, consists of "proving" the alleged "despotic control on the part of the party" which exists in our army, the "dictatorship of party functionaries," and so forth. By the falsification of facts and the distortion of the truth, the ideological flunkies of imperialism are striving to disparage and belittle the actual role of the party organizations and political organs in the Soviet Armed Forces. Today, they are being actively helped

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by opportunists of various thrusts, especially Maoists, who are joining directly with the most inveterate reactionaries in their anti-Sovietism.

But the actual facts and the state of affairs in the Soviet Armed Forces completely overturn the malicious fantasies of the bourgeois critics. The actual processes testify to the truth and depth of the propositions formulated in our party program concerning the increase in the role of the CPSU in the leadership of the Armed Forces as an objective regular law of Soviet military organizational development.

The main thing in the Communist Party's activity is the elaboration of the general prospects for society's development, the correct political line, and the organization of the workers for its implementation. Proceeding from this important methodological proposition, it can be stated that the increase in the role of the CPSU in military organizational development is caused by two groups of reasons.

/The first group of these reasons/ expresses the objective necessity for the strict scientific determination and substantiation of the prospects and paths of development of Soviet society and its Armed Forces. The theoretical comprehension of the phenomena of public life and its main trends permits the party to foresee the course of social processes, to work out the correct course, and to avoid errors and subjective decisions. Under contemporary conditions, when the rates of social development have increased, many social processes have become noticeably more complex, and the most diverse factors are manifesting themselves ever more completely in the dynamics of social life (intensification of the role of science, aggravation of the ideological struggle, rapid growth in mass information means, maintenance of military danger on the part of imperialism, and so forth), the success in realizing our majestic plans depends completely on the wisdom of foresight and correct social forecasting. Only the collective wisdom of the party and its Central Committee, which relies on the world-outlook and methodological bases of Marxism-Leninism, is able to accomplish this task of historic importance successfully. And the party, displaying theoretical maturity, devotion to class principles, and dialectical flexibility is directing military organizational development successfully. In recent years alone, many fundamental questions in the ensuring of the Armed Forces' constant combat readiness, determining the long-range trends in military-technical development and the correlation between individual elements of the military organism's structure, and others were solved.

/The second group of reasons/ which are causing an increase in the Communist Party's role in military organizational development is explained by its exclusive role as collective organizer of the implementation of party decisions and ideas. The party's organizational activity in the Armed Forces is directed toward improving the quality of accomplishment of the most important missions: the maintenance of combat readiness on the proper level, further improvement of the system for the training and indoctrination of the personnel and, on this basis, the strengthening of military discipline and improvement in the training of personnel.

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Military organizational development does not occur by itself, it is implemented by people. The level and depth of resolution of problems which arise depend in the most important degree on ideological maturity and professional training. Soviet military organizational development encompasses various spheres of military affairs: the material and technical basis of the Armed Forces, the training and indoctrination of the personnel, and the development of military-theoretical thought. And each Soviet officer and all personnel of the Armed Forces, improving various aspects of the military structure and making creative use of those possibilities and advantages which our society and its Armed Forces possess, are thereby making their contribution to the further development of the socialist society's military organization.

In accordance with the specific international situation which has developed as well as with the capabilities of our state, the party is adopting and implementing decisions on the fundamental questions of Soviet military organizational development. Constantly located at the center of its attention is the entire complex of factors which determine the country's defensive capability and the combat readiness of the Armed Forces.

In the life of the Soviet Armed Forces, there is virtually not one more or less important sector or matter which would not be a subject for the attention of the party and its Central Committee. Improving the organization and structure of the Armed Forces, determining the optimum proportions in the relationships of their armed services, equipping the Armed Forces with improved weapons and combat equipment, supplying the troops with allowances of all types, tasks in the training and indoctrination of military cadres and instruction and indoctrination of the personnel--all this is accomplished on the basis of the CPSU's policy and the decrees of its Central Committee. In the summary report of the CC CPSU to the 25th Party Congress, it states: "During all these years, the party devoted proper attention to /strengthening the defensive capability of our country and improving the Armed Forces."/

The most important direction in realizing the military policy of the CPSU is the further development and strengthening of the material and technical basis for the defensive capability of the Soviet state and the combat might of its Armed Forces. The party's scientific leadership ensures the optimum use of the advantages of the socialist social system, the socialist economic system, and the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution for these purposes.

The organizational development of the Armed Forces and their improvement are taking place in close connection with the development of socialist production, science, and technology. Thanks to the growing capabilities of the socialist economy, the achievements of Soviet science and technology, and the selfless labor of the people in the years of the Tenth Five-Year Plan, the Armed Forces are receiving everything necessary to maintain constant combat readiness.

The country's economic and scientific potential and the use of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution permitted providing all the branches of service of the Armed Forces with equipment and weapons having high combat

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capabilities. Experiencing proper pride for the technical equipping of the Armed Forces, the Soviet servicemen render its due to the labor of the workers, kolkhoz farmers, scientists, designers, and engineers whose minds and hands created the first-class missiles, tanks, airplanes, and ships which today are ensuring the dependable defense of the motherland and which, if necessary, permit launching swift and responsive strikes against the aggressor at any point on Earth.

Along with economic and scientific-technical achievements, socio-political factors also play a most important role in the further strengthening of the country's defensive might. The high maturity of social relations, the drawing together of classes and social groups, the approval of communist ideology, socialist patriotism and internationalism, and a sense of national pride of the Soviet people—all these processes which are developing in our society affect the strengthening of the state's defensive might in a direct manner. They further the internal solidarity and unity of the Armed Forces personnel and comradely relations between servicemen, command personnel, and the men in the ranks.

The improvement of socio-political relations during the years of the Tenth Five-Year Plan led to the expansion of the social base for manning the Armed Forces. The growth in the size of the working class and the increase in its proportion in the overall structure of the country's population are having a beneficial effect on this process. More than half the servicemen who are now on active duty worked in industry, in transportation, or in construction before being called up to the army, more than one third worked in agriculture, and the remainder were employees and students.

The increase in the representation of the working class in the Armed Forces is accompanied by the strengthening of organization and order in the units and on the ships and by an increase in the men's morale and solidarity.

The transition to universal secondary education and the implementation of the CPSU's decisions in the area of higher, secondary, and vocational and technical education contributed to providing the Armed Forces with replacements having a higher level of ideological-political tempering and intellectual and physical development. Among the replacements which are now coming to the Armed Forces, virtually all youths have a higher, secondary, and incomplete secondary education. One out of every three draftees has a military specialty which was acquired in DOSAAF training organizations.

The social policy which is now being conducted by our party is ensuring the further strengthening of the unity of the army and the people. This unity is displayed, on the one hand, in the Soviet people's constant concern for the technical equipping of the Armed Forces, the improvement of their combat might, the training of the youth for the defense of the socialist fatherland, and in the noticeable improvement in the material and everyday living conditions of the personnel.



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On the other hand, it ensures the men's active participation in the country's economic and socio-political life. Thus, more than 17,000 representatives of the Armed Forces are deputies of the Soviets or members of rayon, city, oblast, and central party organs.

The strengthening of the unity between the army and the people is furthered by the participation of many troop subunits in the gathering of the harvest, in the building of housing, and in the struggle against natural disasters. Each year, many servicemen work on the grain harvest. They transport thousands of tons of agricultural produce from the fields. The railroad servicemen have been assigned an important mission--the building of one of the sections of the Baykal-Amur Mainline Railroad.

The most important source for increasing the combat might of the Armed Forces is the indestructible ideological-political unity of society and the growth in the ideological maturity of the Soviet people, flaming patriots and internationalists. During the years when socialism and communism were being built, we molded a new, socialist type of personality thanks to the indefatigable ideological-indoctrinational work of the party. In the summary report of the CC CPSU to the 25th Party Congress, it states: "...the most important result of the last 60 years--is the Soviet man. A man who, having won freedom, was able to defend it in the most terrible battles. A man who built the future, sparing no strength and accepting any sacrifices. A man who, having passed through all tests himself changed unrecognizably and combined within himself ideological conviction and tremendous vital energy, culture, knowledge, and the ability to employ them. He is a man who, being a fervent patriot, was and always will be a consistent internationalist."<sup>17</sup>

These features of the Soviet man are also inherent to the Soviet serviceman, a full-fledged master of his own country who is responsible for the fate of the motherland and socialist achievements. Duty and calling, rights and duties, and the lofty qualities of the patriot and internationalist have merged into a single whole in his consciousness.

Under the influence of our socialist reality and the party's active ideological work, the men have formed the ability to see in their daily duties great state meaning and the striving to improve their combat skill from day to day and to strengthen the combat readiness of the units and ships. Convincing confirmation of the Soviet servicemen's lofty understanding of their sacred duty for the defense of the motherland is provided by the results of the jubilee socialist competition and by the high patriotic upsurge in the atmosphere of which the personnel, inspired by the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, are struggling for the further accomplishment of the plans for combat and political training. Suffice it to say that in the last training year one out of every three companies and batteries, one out of every four battalions, and one out of every five ships achieved excellent indices in combat and political training. Thousands of servicemen were awarded high government awards for successes in training, in the mastery of new equipment, and in exemplary service.

<sup>17</sup> "Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1976, p 87.

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The successes in military organizational development depend on many circumstances, conditions, and factors. Among them one of the leading is the intensification of the party's ideological activity in the Armed Forces. In organizing ideological work in a socialist society and its Armed Forces, the CPSU considers in every possible way the situation which has developed, capabilities, and goals and, proceeding from this, it formulates the tasks for a specific stage. Thus, under contemporary conditions, an important element which influences all aspects of ideological work is the improvement of the training and skill of ideological personnel. They must have a good understanding of the problems of domestic and foreign policy and economic and cultural life, link the propagandizing of Marxist-Leninist theory and communist ideals with the accomplishment of practical tasks, actively support everything that is new and advanced, and organize the struggle against manifestations of petty bourgeois psychology skillfully. Ideological personnel are required to evaluate social phenomena from Marxist-Leninist positions, defend the principles of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism in practice, and expose bourgeois and revisionist ideology consistently and in a well-reasoned manner. They must tirelessly master the Leninist skill of political enlightenment and convincing of the masses and conduct agitation-propaganda work conclusively and intelligibly, reacting expeditiously to events in the country and in the world arena and to the ideological questions of Soviet people.

In executing leadership of ideological activity, the party not only determines the goals and work tasks, but it also indicates the specific means for their attainment and accomplishment. The entire spirit of the party's decisions on questions of military organizational development expresses the unity of its ideological and organizational work. The party teaches that the decision of the party organization itself is only the beginning of the matter. Then, everything depends on organization and the political activity and responsibility of people. In turn, any organizational measure requires ideological support. Favorable results in ideological work can be attained only in dialectical unity.

The intensification of attention to ideological questions presumes a principled attitude toward shortcomings which are still present in it. The party teaches that the process of improving ideological work should be accompanied by the elimination of deficiencies, weaknesses, and bottlenecks.

At times, some political organs and party organizations do not delve with sufficient objectivity into the content itself and the process of ideological work, and they make poor use of what is new in this field. Some still do not have sufficient specificity or efficiency in reacting to events or the proper political acuteness in evaluating some phenomena.

An uncompromising struggle against shortcomings and negative phenomena is the sacred duty of each communist, political officer, and propagandist. The attitude toward shortcomings is the criterion of devotion to principle. It is not in the spirit of Leninist ideological principles to overlook shortcomings, to tolerate them, reject criticism, and display complacency or the reluctance to spoil relations with someone.

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Ideological work does not tolerate indifference, dryness, and formalism. Where liveliness, a creative spark, and initiative are actually present, the ideological influence on the personnel acquires additional force, is filled with great power, and is expressed in the effectiveness of its results.

The increase in the role of the CPSU in ideological activity is also manifested in the improved control of its processes. The CPSU sees the main task in the direction of ideological work in raising its role as an important factor in communist organizational development and the molding of the new man. This means that the basis of the scientific direction of ideological work in the Armed Forces under contemporary conditions is ensuring the most effective accomplishment of its functions, primarily of ideological-political and military indoctrination, and mobilizing the personnel for the increase in combat readiness of the troops and naval forces.

Scientific direction of ideological work presumes basing it on the Marxist-Leninist ideological-theoretical and methodological basis. It is possible only under the condition of a profound consideration of the regular objective laws which influence the ideological processes in our society and its Armed Forces. V. I. Lenin repeatedly pointed out that one can control only on the basis of knowledge of actual reality, objective laws, and regularities. He required the deep study of social processes and the laws which are displayed in them, seeing how these laws function under specific circumstances, and drawing the correct conclusions for practice.

In determining the essence of the scientific direction of ideological work in the Armed Forces, it should be said that it consists of working out and implementing measures for the effective ideological indoctrination of the personnel which ensure their high morale and constant readiness to smash any aggressor/ in accordance with Marxist-Leninist ideology and the decisions of the CPSU and on the basis of the comprehensive consideration of socio-political, economic, and military conditions, the specific situation which has developed, and the accomplishment of their missions by the Armed Forces.

In this connection, as Marxism-Leninism teaches, it is necessary to devote considerably greater attention to consideration of the internal regular laws of ideological work in the Armed Forces.

In speaking of the principles of the scientific direction of ideological work which have important significance for the raising of its effectiveness, we should stress the primary significance of the principle of communist party spirit. This principle requires organizing the entire matter of indoctrinating the personnel in accordance with the policy of the CPSU and the decisions of its congresses and CC plenums. It presumes ensuring communist ideological content and the party spirit of all ideological measures.

Among other most important principles for the direction of ideological work, we should distinguish the principle of its subordination to the accomplishment of the primary tasks facing the Armed Forces and, first of all, the increase

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in their readiness to smash any enemy. This principle determines the specific features of ideological work in the Armed Forces which are connected with the molding, in the men, of the lofty moral-political and combat qualities which are necessary for victory in war.

In the direction of ideological work, important significance is also had by the principle of specificity and a deep tie with life. Knowledge of the actual demands and requirements of people and of practice permits a determination of the goals and tasks for ideological activity and the specific means for their attainment more clearly and correctly.

Among the principles for the direction of ideological work, we should also name the principles of unity of ideological and organizational work, the efficient use of all forces and means of ideological influence in the interests of attaining its maximum effectiveness, and the complexity of the communist indoctrinational process when political and moral qualities and the organic requirement for military labor and the observance of the norms of living together in a military collective are molded in people simultaneously and in an inter-related manner.

As was noted at the Army-Wide Conference of Ideological Personnel, great responsibility for the status of ideological work is borne by the party organizations in the Armed Forces. Ideological work is the core of all their activity. High results in ideological-indoctrinational work can be attained only with constant, deep attention to questions of direction of ideological work.

The most important propositions which characterize the regular laws and principles of ideological work are formulated in Lenin's works. V. I. Lenin worked out the basic ideas which disclose the scientific bases of communist indoctrination of the men in the Soviet Armed Forces. He substantiated the role of the morale factor in the course and the outcome of war and determined the specific features in the molding of spiritual qualities of the men in the Armed Forces, the content and interconnection of political, military, moral, and physical indoctrination of the personnel, and the principles and methods for their accomplishment which are connected with it. The aggregate of these ideas forms the basis of the scientific theory of indoctrination of the Soviet servicemen and the organization of ideological work in the Armed Forces.

#### 4. The 25th CPSU Congress on the Urgent Tasks in Ideological Work

The significance of the party's ideological-indoctrinational activity is acquiring an ever greater role in the multifaceted process of building a communist society. In the summary report of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the 25th Party Congress, it was stressed that in all past years "questions of the ideological indoctrination of people and problems in molding the new man--the worthy builder of communism--occupied an important place in all our work." Ideological-indoctrinational work is the most important means for molding spiritual maturity and the communist consciousness of the Soviet people and Soviet servicemen. Thanks to the party's efforts in the field of ideological

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work, the propagation and assimilation of Marxism-Leninism's ideas in the consciousness of the people is being attained and their realization in deeds, actions, and the practice of communist creation is ensured.

A developed socialist society sets as its task not only creating an abundance of material good, but also lifting people spiritually. The process of communist construction and ensuring its security and armed protection requires people who possess a communist world outlook and ideological conviction, highly developed senses of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, great moral maturity, organization, and discipline. These qualities, just as a number of others, are inseparably interlinked and form the spiritual wealth of the personality. A communist world outlook is the basis of all moral-political and combat qualities of the serviceman.

In the summary report of the Central Committee CPSU to the 25th Party Congress, it is stressed that the party is building the entire matter of communist indoctrination "on the firm foundation of Marxist-Leninist theory." Recent years were especially fruitful in the area of raising the scientific level and effectiveness of the Soviet serviceman's Marxist education. The propagandizing of V. I. Lenin's ideological-theoretical heritage, the decisions of the party, and its activity in implementing the Lenin ideas reached a new level. An exceptional role in the ideological formation of new generations was played by party documents in connection with historical anniversaries--the 50th anniversary of the Great October and the Soviet Union, the 150th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx, the 100th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, the 30th anniversary of the victory in the Great Patriotic War over German fascism and Japanese militarism, the 60th anniversary of the Great October and the 60th anniversary of the Soviet Armed Forces, and other important theoretical party materials. Various problems of Marxist theory which are the methodological and ideological basis of ideological indoctrination received further development in them.

In molding a communist world outlook in the personnel, we thereby inculcate an innovational, creative spirit in the thinking of the men. The revolutionary nature of the world outlook permits the serviceman to be active, inquisitive, and seeking. By instilling a communist world outlook, we raise an optimistic person. His optimism is based on the great prospects and profound confidence in the complete triumph of communist ideals. Scientifically substantiated optimism permits the men of the socialist armies to maintain steadfast confidence in victory over any enemy in case of war if aggressive forces unleash it. Strengthening a communist world outlook in the men's consciousness, we thereby instill in them party spirit and militant implacability toward the enemies of socialism and toward bourgeois and revisionist ideology.

The difficulties, complexities, and sometimes the shortcomings which are encountered in the course of military service require an attitude toward them which is based on principle. A principled attitude toward oneself and one's comrades, in large and small, and implacability toward any manifestations of lack of discipline, disorganization, and passivity are necessary. Only the person who possesses a communist world outlook and communist conviction, whose

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views correspond to the socialist way of life, whose words do not digress from deeds, and who is able to subordinate the personal to the social, is able to understand the significance of humdrum work for great accomplishments and matters.

The overcoming of difficulties and the ability to attain the assigned goal and accomplish the socialist obligation which has been assumed permit molding such important ideological features as consistency, persistence, and resolution. Exercises, missile launchings, firings, the driving of combat vehicles--this is the practical combat work where the necessary combat-morale qualities which are based on a communist world outlook are worked out and consolidated in peacetime.

As formerly, an urgent task of ideological work in the Armed Forces is the further strengthening of patriotic and international feelings and consciousness in the men. "In the last period," it was noted at the 25th CPSU Congress, "party organizations gave much strength to the cause of the patriotic indoctrination of the workers and, simultaneously, to the strengthening of the masses' internationalist consciousness." The ideological conviction of the Soviet serviceman and firm communist world outlook find especially brilliant expression in his patriotism and internationalism. In the process of ideological work, it is important to consider that Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism possess fundamentally new features. First of all, love for the homeland which the Soviet man and serviceman possess fuses indissolubly with devotion to communist ideals. This has become the main thing in the content of Soviet patriotism. The genuine patriot evaluates all his actions and deeds by the main yardstick--how they serve the cause of communism and the socialist fatherland. By his deeds, each serviceman confirms and displays his patriotism in actions on the further raising of combat readiness, the strengthening of military discipline, and the solidarity of the troop collective.

At the same time, Soviet patriotism bears an international nature. To whatever nationality a Soviet man belongs, he is proud first of all of the fact that he is a citizen of the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The internationalism of Soviet patriotism is expressed in the acquisition of many single, common features of a spiritual make-up which are common to all--communist conviction, collectivism, a high sense of responsibility, a profound realization of their duty, public activity, and others.

In the course of ideological work, it is important to see that the specific ideas of patriotism and internationalism merge and join with personal experiences, feelings, and a specific practical deed. Only in this case will these ideas become inner convictions and be converted into a specific "material force." In patriotic, international indoctrination it is necessary to give man the opportunity to come in direct contact with the lofty and the elevated, to excite him, and to touch the innermost strings of his feelings. Who has not seen what happens to people when they come to monuments of glory, to sacred graves or to the Eternal Flame. The veteran and the young serviceman, the gray-haired widow and the schoolboy who has suddenly become serious, feel pain and pride, a thirst for accomplishments and eternal gratitude.

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The experience accumulated by commanders, political organs, and party organizations in the course of preparations for the 30th anniversary of our great victory over fascism is of great value in the matter of patriotic indoctrination. The wealth of forms and methods and of the specific indoctrinational material which we obtained in this work can also be used in the future with great value and success.

In instilling patriotism and internationalism, an important place is occupied by the explanation of the tremendous social advantages of our system, our democracy, and the tremendous role of the great friendship of the peoples of the Soviet state which has now attained world heights in the most diverse fields of its development.

Among the other urgent problems of ideological indoctrination which were put forth by the 25th CPSU Congress, an important place is occupied by moral problems which, under conditions of military service, find their expression in the necessity for a further increase in organization and discipline and the strengthening of a healthy moral atmosphere in the troop collectives. "Nothing lifts the personality," it said in the CC's summary report to the CPSU Congress, "like an active life's position and a conscientious attitude toward public duty where the unity of word and deed becomes the daily norm of behavior. It is the task of moral indoctrination/ to work out such a position."

Open any of our newspapers and journals, turn on the radio receiver, look around you. We will see everywhere countless numbers of deeds by Soviet people and Soviet servicemen which are dictated by the norms of communist morals and our Soviet way of life. Assistance for a comrade, devotion to principle in the struggle with shortcomings, modesty and sensitivity, respect for good traditions, daring in labor--everything is determined by the main principle of our communist morals--devotion to the cause of communism. In the same measure, this principle also presumes hatred for class enemies and implacability toward everything foreign and amoral. The main antipode of communist morals is the bourgeois morality whose manifestation still makes itself felt every once in a while in our life. "The higher our society rises in its development," it was stated at the 25th Congress, "the more intolerable do the deviations from the socialist norms of morality which are still encountered become. Money-grubbing, private-ownership tendencies, hooliganism, red tape, and indifference to man contradict the very essence of our system."

The special role of the moral indoctrination of the personnel is also explained by the fact that all the most important principles of communist morals find their consolidation in the military regulations and the military oath, thereby acquiring the force of law. Now, when we are living in accordance with new general military regulations, there are additional opportunities to intensify the moral and military indoctrination of the personnel and to improve discipline and organization. The strict and exact accomplishment of all the regulations' requirements is an important criterion of the serviceman's moral-political maturity for, as V. I. Lenin taught, "morals are everything in this serious, solidary discipline...."<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy," Vol 41, p 313.

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The purer the moral atmosphere of the military collective, the higher the effectiveness of ideological work. The report of the CC CPSU to the 25th Congress notes how important it is to use the opinion of the collective and its authority and force in indoctrination. But you see, in considerable measure, the combat capability and indoctrinating role of the collective depend on the moral climate in it. The degree of the collective's solidarity, coordination, and state of discipline is observed in relief in its moral atmosphere. A healthy moral atmosphere increases noticeably the "efficiency" of its members and furthers the maintenance of attitudes of optimism, confidence, and mutual demandingness and devotion to principle.

A healthy moral atmosphere in a troop collective is incompatible with instances of a disrespectful attitude of some toward others. It is well known that experts and masters of their trade enjoy great authority among the young soldiers and seamen. These most experienced, "worldly-wise," servicemen influence the youth in the best manner. But it often happens that a person with negative inclinations which do not contribute to the establishment of a healthy moral atmosphere may also become the "unofficial leader," as the sociologists say. In individual cases, this is manifested by mutual guarantees, a false understanding of comradeship, and attempts to stress one's "superiority" over those with shorter periods of service in an unlawful manner. Although such phenomena are isolated, it is important to instill a sense of dignity and honor and respect for his associates in the young serviceman with his first steps. If the party and Komsomol organizations have created an atmosphere of intolerance toward any manifestations of arrogance, coarseness, and conceit and encourage in every way acts of nobility, honor, combat solidarity, and loyalty to one's word and obligations which have been assumed, then only motives, deeds, and actions which correspond to the principles of communist morals flourish in the moral relations of the men.

Other urgent problems in ideological work along with those which have been examined, as the party congress noted, are, for example, making the struggle against the influence of bourgeois ideology more active, the more skillful use of the means of art in instilling a communist attitude toward labor and public property, and others. Their successful solution, as is stressed in the materials of the Congress, requires a further increase in the effectiveness of all our ideological-indoctrinational actions.

Skillfully organized ideological work permits the successful accomplishment of the main tasks facing our Armed Forces--to maintain vigilance and the combat readiness of the Armed Forces at the proper level, thereby providing favorable external conditions for the building of communism in our country.



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## Chapter 2. Ideological Work under Contemporary Conditions and its Special Features

By ideological work we mean the party's activity in indoctrinating the workers in the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and ensuring their active participation in the process of communist construction. It is one of the most important sectors of party activity which ensure the successful creation of the new society.

In its content, ideological work encompasses three most important elements. The first is the development of communist ideology and introducing the vivifying ideas of Marxism-Leninism into the consciousness of people as well as the formation of communist convictions and a scientific world outlook on their basis. The second element is using various ideological means to ensure a situation where the ideas of Marxism-Leninism which have been assimilated by people are realized and embodied in practice, in deeds, actions, and behavior. The third element expresses the activity of the party which is directed toward the struggle against everything alien, anti-Marxist, and hostile. It is also nothing but constant counteraction and an offensive struggle against bourgeois, opportunistic ideology.

Knowledge of the structure of the ideological process facilitates the planning and organization of work in the unit, on the ship, and in the military-educational institution. In this regard commanders, political officers, and party organizations proceed from party decisions and program documents of the CPSU. Under conditions of the Armed Forces, the accomplishment of these tasks in ideological work is implemented in the course of the struggle to raise the level of troop combat readiness, strengthen military discipline, and initiate socialist competition further.

Ideological work is a most important means for molding the spiritual maturity and communist consciousness of the Soviet people and the Soviet servicemen. Thanks to the party's efforts in the field of ideological work, the propagation and assimilation of Marxist-Leninist ideas in the consciousness of people is being attained and their realization in deeds, actions, and the practice of communist creation is ensured. The organization and content of ideological indoctrination in the Armed Forces, as in society as a whole, is accomplished on the basis of profoundly scientific, Leninist principles of ideological work.

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### Chapter 3. Ideological Work and Indoctrination of the Men of the Armed Forces

The highest goal of our party is concern for man, for his comprehensive development. For communists, said L. I. Brezhnev, the ideological and spiritual growth of each person is a special value because "the comprehensive and harmonious development of the human personality is our highest goal."<sup>1</sup> All ideological influence and all propaganda work is directed toward molding a scientific world outlook and communist conviction in people.

The upbringing of the new man is a complex problem. The many-sided nature of the types of indoctrination reflects the complexity of the personality as well as the variety of objective conditions in which it is molded. In its content, the indoctrination of the Soviet man and the Soviet serviceman is communist. The theoretical bases, principles, and class direction of communist indoctrination were substantiated comprehensively by V. I. Lenin. In the practice of ideological work, commanders and political officers use the infinitely wealthy Leninist heritage which permits implementing the process of communist indoctrination of Soviet servicemen on a scientific basis.

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<sup>1</sup> L. I. Brezhnev, "O kommunisticheskoy vospitanii trudyashchikhsya" [On the Communist Indoctrination of the Workers]. Moscow, 1974, p 430

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#### **Chapter 4. Ideological-Theoretical Training of Military Personnel**

High ideological content cements the competence, bravery, discipline, and responsibility in the many-faceted make-up of the Soviet general, officer, and each serviceman. Ideological-theoretical tempering occupies the central place in the training of military personnel. It is the manifestation of the general regular law which was noted by the 25th CPSU Congress that "the mass study of Marxism-Leninism is the most important feature in the development of social consciousness at the contemporary stage." Understanding the depths of communist ideology creates a firm attitudinal, ideological platform for the development of Soviet military personnel.

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#### Chapter 5. Problems of Heroic-Patriotic Indoctrination

The developed socialist society which has been built in the USSR is characterized by a new level of development of the material base--the economy, productive forces, science, and technology. The highly developed countrywide economy is now an integrated national-economic complex which includes the national economies of all the republics. It is developing in accordance with a single state plan in the interests of the entire country and each republic and is the firm foundation for the building and defense of communism. The contemporary stage of economic development permits the considerably more effective accomplishment of the tasks for improving and strengthening the material-technical base for the combat might of the Armed Forces.

This is furthered by the circumstance that, as was noted by the 25th CPSU Congress, we have attained high positions and levels of increase in industrial production. The Soviet Union has reached first place in the world for volume of production of coal, iron ore, cement, steel, oil, and mineral fertilizer. We have also attained a noticeable growth in scientific and technical potential.

The growth in the moral forces of the mature socialist society and its Armed Forces is also truly colossal. Our society's attainment of a high level of socio-class and ideological-political unity and the confirmation of harmonious and close relations of friendly classes, social groups, nations, and nationalities has decisive significance for the further improvement and strengthening of the Soviet Armed Forces and reinforcement of their morale. The higher stage of maturity of socialist relations in our country is having the most favorable influence on the further increase in the moral superiority of the socialist armed forces over the armies of the probable aggressors. The strengthening of the patriotic and international community of the Soviet people is having an ever increasing influence on the formation and functioning of troop collectives and on the social unity of the men of the Armed Forces and steps forth as the determining factor in the further ideological-political solidarity of the Armed Forces personnel and in instilling remarkable moral-combat and political qualities in them.

In the spiritual appearance of the Soviet serviceman, ideological conviction is manifested most brightly in Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism. Commanders, political officers, and party and Komsomol organizations are doing

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much so that these qualities of exceptional importance are organically inherent to each Soviet serviceman. There are now the richest possibilities for the patriotic and international indoctrination of Soviet people: propaganda on the revolutionary, labor, and combat traditions; the party's struggle to strengthen the friendship of the Soviet peoples; the USSR's great contribution to the international cause of forming a world socialist system; and outstanding military jubilees.

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## PART II. IDEOLOGICAL COMPETITION IN MILITARY PROBLEMS

The contemporary stage of human society's historical development is characterized by a further strengthening of socialism's world positions. Leninism has now become not only theory, but also practice for hundreds of millions of people. The Soviet Union--the first socialist country--brilliantly demonstrates those tremendous historic heights which socialism has attained. The economic might of our country is steadily growing, and the material and cultural standards of life of the Soviet people are rising. Recent years provided new evidence of the further international solidarity of the countries in the socialist commonwealth which is now the decisive factor of world social progress.

The active, initiative-filled international policy of the CPSU which is based on the mighty strength and authority of the Soviet state and the efforts of the other fraternal socialist countries permit accomplishing positive shifts in the contemporary world situation. L. I. Brezhnev said at the 18th Komsomol Congress: "Detente today is not theory, not a slogan, not a good wish. It has to its credit many good deeds which are fully specific and tangible. However, we cannot fail to see that the opponents of detente have not stacked arms. Attacks against detente are being undertaken from various sides: from the military-industrial complex, the Beijing leaders, and various reactionary forces.

Despite a number of steps which certain imperialist circles were forced to take in the direction of international detente, the aggressive nature of imperialism remained unchanged. Because of its socio-economic essence, imperialism remains the source of wars, international conflicts, and social and national oppression of the workers. Although the possibilities for imperialism have narrowed as a result of changes in the correlation of forces, the military danger from its direction has not passed. The competition between two diametrically opposed systems is continuing and proceeding in the most diverse spheres and forms. It is known that peaceful coexistence is also a specific form of the class struggle in the course of which the most diverse means of competition, except for military forms, are used.

The Lenin principle of peaceful coexistence presumes, first, the striving to exclude war from the practice of international relations as a method for resolving international quarrels. Second, the successful implementation of this principle would mean ensuring favorable external conditions for the

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accomplishment of our majestic plans and programs. And third, peaceful co-existence does not mean a weakening of the class struggle with the bourgeoisie. It does not extend to relations between antagonistic classes but only operates in relations between states with different systems. The struggle in the political, economic, ideological, and other areas does not stop under conditions of peaceful coexistence.

Under present conditions, such a form of the class struggle as an ideological struggle acquires special significance. It has an implacable, class nature. Its arena is the entire world and all the basic areas of public life--politics, ideology, culture, and law. In this struggle, the socialist system is developing and asserting social progress and disclosing unlimited possibilities for the development of all creative potentials of peoples and of each personality. Capitalism defends and tries to preserve the system of exploitation, spiritual desolation, the threat of new wars, racial discrimination, national inequality, and so forth which are inherent to it. In recent years, the working masses and the working class of the capitalist countries have been coming out more and more resolutely for their social rights and against the omnipotence of the monopolies; they are demanding more and more persistently the cessation of the arms race and new steps in the direction of peaceful coexistence with the socialist countries.

The ideological struggle under conditions of a certain relaxation at the contemporary stage of development has attained large scales and a high stage of acuteness. It encompasses all forms and levels of consciousness and permeates all spheres of spiritual life, influencing the frame of mind and behavior of the popular masses--the rulers of the destinies of the biggest political events, revolutions, and wars.

/The ideological struggle, by which we mean the reflection of the competition between social systems in the sphere of consciousness/, is a constantly operating invisible front which passes through the minds and hearts of the people. It is namely man, with his world outlook, convictions, views, ideals, feelings, and attitudes who is the main objective of the ideological struggle. Its results and consequences are not manifested at once. They are discovered with time and in the most diverse forms, being reflected in one way or another in individual and social consciousness. In the final analysis, they can be judged from the actual deeds and actions of people, from their social orientation and degree of public activity. Under conditions when positive processes are taking place in international relations, certain imperialist circles are trying to make their ideological diversions against socialism and progress more active and are intensifying subversive activity in the spiritual area. The various means of mass information permit drawing tremendous masses of the planet's people into the orbit of the ideological struggle.

The present stage in the battle of ideas is characterized by a number of special features.

First. The growing economic, political, and defensive might of the socialist commonwealth's countries is leading to an ever greater change in the correlation

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of forces in the international arena in favor of socialism. This is forcing the imperialists to adapt to new conditions. Economic competition and ideological struggle are moving out to the proscenium of the competition between socialism and imperialism more and more. The relaxation in international tension is causing alarm and confusion in those circles which have a greater preference for the cold of the "cold war." For them, detente and the warming of the international climate mean a drop in profits and a worsening of the economic market conditions. This is why newer and newer "ideological expeditions" against socialism are being undertaken from their camp and resources are generously released for the conduct of the most varied subversive ideological actions within the socialist commonwealth. This is evidenced by reports in the Western press about the expansion of activity by the notorious "Radio Liberation"; about the delivery of a new unit for the radio station "Voice of America" to the territory of South Korea for broadcasts to the Soviet Far East; about the continuation of releases of balloons with provocative antisocialist materials at the territory of the socialist countries, and so forth.

Second. The successes of the socialist countries against a background of progressive capitalist ailments are making the ideas of socialism more and more attractive for the broadest masses. Today, nothing will be attained by anti-communist growling of the extreme "rabid people" alone. The attacks of bourgeois propaganda are becoming more and more subtle. A great number of theories and useless concepts are appearing which contain advice on "improving," "liberalizing," and "democratizing" socialism but in reality are antisocialist ideological diversions. Bourgeois "advisors," camouflaging their true goals with "sympathy" toward socialism, are in fact trying to shatter the international unity of the socialist countries and their armies and to sow doubts in the historic rightness of communist ideals. How can we not recall here V. I. Lenin's warning that such "gratifiers" would like to "kill Marxism 'by means of gentleness' and strangle it by means of embraces...."<sup>1</sup> Bourgeois ideologists, speculating on international detente, are trying to drag the principle of peaceful coexistence into the area of ideological relations and into the area of social consciousness. They would like to transform the notorious thesis about "the free spread of ideas, people, and information" into a method for legalizing their ideological diversions against the socialist countries and into a method for obtaining certain ideological and political advantages for themselves. Our position on this question is absolutely clear. We came forth and will come forth for the expansion of cooperation with capitalist countries in the field of culture, the exchange of various information, and mutually advantageous contacts, but only if it occurs with respect for the laws, customs, order, and sovereignty of each country and will further the growth in confidence between peoples and the mutual spiritual enrichment of people.

Third. The ideological struggle of our time has assumed an all-encompassing, global nature because of the rapid growth in the means for mass information. At present, according to UNESCO data, the number of radio and television receivers in the world is approaching a billion. Means of mass information are

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy," Vol 26, p 227.



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creating the opportunity to attract tremendous masses of people into the orbit of the ideological struggle. As L. I. Brezhnev noted, "all the tools for influencing the minds which are in the hands of the bourgeoisie--the press, cinema, radio--are mobilized to deceive people, to impress them with notions of the almost paradise life under capitalism, and slander socialism. The air is literally saturated with fabrications of every possible type about life in our country and the fraternal socialist countries."<sup>2</sup> Broadcasts of several dozen bourgeois stations whose total amount comprises more than 1,500 hours per week are now conducted round the clock at the USSR alone. It should be stressed that resources of imperialism's armed forces are also used actively for subversive work. Thus, according to the testimony of the American Senator W. Fulbright the Pentagon's propaganda machine, which numbers 260 radio stations and 91 television stations, is widely used in the anticommunist "war of the minds." All this requires constant vigilance and the readiness to rebuff any fabrications of our foes.

Fourth. As formerly, one of the objects in the acute ideological conflicts consists of the problems of war and peace and military-theoretical questions. The preservation of military danger and the fate of the world greatly disturb and touch the interests of millions of people as never before. Therefore, the approach to military questions discloses with great acuteness the class position and orientation of various social groups, states, and individual people. Imperialist propaganda, exploiting the situation of a certain relaxation of tension, is trying to distort, falsify, and "reexamine" many well-known historical facts of the last war and to subject to doubt the methodological provisions of Marxism which characterize wars of the contemporary era.

Proceeding from the consideration of the ideological struggle's special features under contemporary conditions which are set forth above, it is expedient to examine some of the propositions which, in our view, have important significance for intensifying the counteraction to hostile ideological diversions in the military field.

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<sup>2</sup> "Materialy XXIV s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 24th CPSU Congress], p 91.

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#### Chapter 6. The Ideological Struggle in the Field of Military Theory Methodology

Under contemporary conditions, when certain positive shifts have occurred in international relations and in the military-theoretical field as well as in other areas of ideology, the acute struggle is not stopping. Here two views on war and the army which are opposite in their class essence and two approaches to the problems of military affairs--Marxist-Leninist and bourgeois--clash. Exposure of bourgeois views has important methodological, ideological, and political significance.

As evidenced by numerous facts, the bourgeois ideologists are subjecting the fundamental propositions of Marxist-Leninist teaching on war and the army which pertain to the essence of war of the contemporary era to especially fierce attacks. Each year, thousands of books are published in the bourgeois world, a great number of monographs, and articles are printed, numerous "studies" of socialism's military policies are conducted, and conferences and symposiums on military-theoretical problems are organized. Their most typical feature is disclosed by attentive familiarization with all these materials--an anticommunist, anti-Soviet direction. And although an outwardly pacifist nature has been attached to many of them recently, their antisocialist goals remain unchanged. How can the increased attention of bourgeois ideology to military-theoretical questions and to the Marxist-Leninist teaching on war and the army be explained? In answering this question, the following points can be singled out.

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Chapter 7. The Struggle Against the Bourgeois Falsifiers in the Field of Military History

The regular law of the increase in the forces of socialism and the strengthening of its positions and influence in the world can be clearly seen in the historic fabric of events and the kaleidoscope of facts and phenomena.

In the era of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism, the ideas of scientific communism are being transformed into reality in the course of revolutionary struggle and the creative activity of the popular masses. Historical experience and the practice of socialist construction demonstrate convincingly the vital rightness of Marxist-Leninist teaching and show graphically the advantages of the new social system. History teaches. Its lessons are extremely important and instructive since a comprehensive analysis of historical experience permits disclosure of the regular objective laws and trends in social development, the correct understanding of the present, the well-grounded forecast of the future, and the bold conduct of practical work in its accomplishment. It is for this very reason that the reactionary forces which are deprived of historical perspective deny so persistently the presence of regular laws in the development of human society, portray the historical process as a spontaneous accumulation of random events, and distort in every way the lessons of history in the course of its tendentious exposition.

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Chapter 9. Fantasies About the "Soviet Military Threat" and the Real Danger to Peace

As a result of the peace offensive which was undertaken in recent years by the CPSU jointly with the parties of the fraternal countries, the international climate has begun to change for the better. On a number of sectors of the competition between the two systems, as a result of a change in the correlation of forces in favor of socialism the leaders of the capitalist states were forced to take several steps to meet peaceful coexistence half way.

The turn from the "cold War" to a policy of sober realism, however, is encountering more and more stubborn opposition on the part of imperialist reaction. Fearing the social consequences of detente, the militaristic circles are seeking various reasons to discredit and frustrate it. Speaking at the 18th Komsomol Congress, L. I. Brezhnev noted that "recently the enemies of detente and disarmament in the NATO countries, all these intriguing generals and militant politicians, raised and are continuing a propaganda uproar by spreading fabrications about the alleged threatening military superiority of the Warsaw Pact states over the NATO bloc in Europe, about certain aggressive intentions in Europe which are ascribed to the Soviet Union, and so forth." The reactionary myth about the so-called "Soviet threat" now manifests itself as the main weapon in the ideological speculations of bourgeois propaganda.

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**Chapter 8. The International Nature of Socialism's Defense and the  
Ideological Diversion of the Bourgeoisie**

In the ideological-political indoctrination of the Soviet servicemen, an important place is occupied by a study of the results and lessons of the last war, instances of heroism of Soviet people, and the international nature of the Soviet Armed Forces. Knowledge of history, of the deep-seated sources of our might, and our invincible strength permit the strengthening of people's ideological convictions and their confidence in the final triumph of communist ideals.

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#### CONCLUSION

At the contemporary stage of world development, when the competition between the two systems--socialist and capitalist--is continuing, the responsibility of the Soviet Armed Forces to the party and the people is increasing. Today, we can see in even greater contrast the importance of the Armed Forces' historic task to provide favorable conditions for the building of communism in our country and for socialist construction in the fraternal countries. Therefore, in party-political and ideological work it is so important to devote special attention to explaining to the men our party's foreign-policy course and the contemporary international situation which is characterized by great complexity, contradiction, and dynamism. It is very important for each soldier, seaman, sergeant, warrant officer [praporshchik, michman], officer, and general to have a clear and profound impression of the main lines in our foreign policy which are being consistently conducted by the CPSU Central Committee and which are directed toward the strengthening of peace, the preservation of international security, and ensuring favorable external conditions for the building of socialism and communism. It is important to see that influential forces still exist in the world which are not interested in detente, forces which are doing everything to aggravate the international situation.

A political, ideological analysis of international events occurring in various sections of the planet should lead the personnel of the Armed Forces and all servicemen to a correct understanding of their personal responsibility for the fate of our state and for improving the combat readiness of units, ships, and large units.

It is also necessary to conduct the matter of ideological indoctrination and all ideological work in such a way that our Armed Forces are ready to repel the attack of any enemy at any time from wherever it may come, so that in case of an attempt to attack our country the aggressor receives a destructive responsive strike, and so that no chance happening catches us unawares.

Thanks to the concern of the CPSU and the selfless labor of the Soviet people and the personnel of the Armed Forces, our defense is strong in all its elements. In the west and east, north and south, on all our borders, on land, in the air and at sea, under any conditions the Soviet servicemen are serving watchfully and are vigilantly defending the motherland and the peaceful labor of the Soviet people.

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The Armed Forces are also accomplishing their international duty with honor. On the front line of defense of the socialist world, on the territory of the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary Soviet troops are continuing to stand their combat watch in one formation with the allied armies, enjoying the respect and support of the fraternal peoples. The Soviet seamen represent our country on the expanses of the world ocean in a worthy manner.

The Soviet Armed Forces are a mighty collective of steadfast, brave, and skillful defenders of the motherland who recognize and accomplish their patriotic and international obligations in a worthy manner and are boundlessly devoted to the party and the people. The high evaluation of the Soviet Armed Forces' might and combat readiness which was given in the summary report of the party's Central Committee as made by the General Secretary of the CC CPSU, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, and in his speech at the 18th Komsomol Congress is the best testimony to our military personnel, the Armed Forces communists, and all Soviet servicemen who are contributing tremendous and inspired labor to the cause of ensuring the security of the Soviet Union.

All the thoughts and deeds of the Soviet servicemen are imbued with consciousness of their lofty responsibility to the party and the country and with state concern that the peaceful labor of the Soviet people is and will be reliably guarded against any chance happenings. And just as all Soviet people, in their activity our servicemen proceed from the common task of the entire people which consists of the raising of qualitative indices and the effectiveness of labor in every way and of raising the sense of responsibility for the accomplishment of their duty to the motherland. It is an honorable and responsible duty of command and political personnel, political organs, and party organizations of the Armed Forces to raise the effectiveness of party-political work to the level of the requirements of the 25th CPSU Congress. An important role in the accomplishment of the tasks facing the Armed Forces in the matter of maintaining constant combat readiness belongs to ideological work.

By means of ideological work we attain the main goal: we mold the communist world outlook and the conviction of people--those mighty spiritual stimuli on the strength of which man functions, decides, and proceeds. It is here, in world outlook and conviction, that the most deep-seated sources of the strength of the moral and combat qualities, discipline, and the psychological steadfastness of the troops are hidden.

In analyzing the experience of communist indoctrination, the 25th CPSU Congress stressed the necessity for further improvement in the process of molding the new man as one of the party's main tasks in communist construction. The significance of this work is now intensifying, /first/, in that the great cause--the building of communism--cannot move forward without the comprehensive development of man himself. The more difficult and grandiose the tasks which are facing society, the higher the requirements for the spiritual maturity of the people and their political class tempering. And they can be forged first of all by ideological means, by connecting the process of mastering Marxist-

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Leninist ideas with the struggle for their implementation. In the process of ideological work clear and distinct class positions and implacability toward everything alien are formed and collective standards of communist morals are strengthened. The upbringing of the new man is a component part of the program for communist construction. At the same time, it is a mighty factor for accelerating our movement forward.

/Second/, the significance of ideological work in bringing up the new man is also intensifying in connection with the scientific and technical revolution which is having tremendous influence on the entire course of our society's development and causing important social consequences in all spheres of our life. The scientific and technical revolution requires an even higher general educational and cultural level of the Soviet people. At the same time, it objectively strengthens the personal responsibility of society's members for increasing the scientifically substantiated, competent use of contemporary equipment in the course of socially useful labor and management of production.

/Third/, the increase in the significance of molding the new Soviet man is also caused by external factors. They are linked primarily with the aggravation of the class struggle, in its ideological form, between two opposite social systems in the world arena. The increase in the various forms of interstate exchange and the development of economic, trade, and scientific-technical cooperation leads to an increase in direct human contacts and to the direct collision of different ways of life, ideals, and world outlooks.

The molding of the new man is occurring in an environment of acute ideological struggle in the international arena. Its invisible front passes through the minds and hearts of millions of people and now, under conditions of the rapid growth in the means of mass information, our attention to these questions must be constant. Now bourgeois propaganda, making mass use of radio, television, the press and other channels is striving, as a rule, to influence the political convictions of people and their ideological positions gradually rather than directly. Therefore, it is necessary to pursue a class line in questions of indoctrination consistently, from clear and distinct ideological positions, and to increase revolutionary vigilance in every possible way.

Thus, in speaking of the basic directions of ideological work and ways to improve ideological work in the units and on the ships, and proceeding from the decisions of the 25th Party Congress, it can be said that the main thing in this process is the indoctrination of the men in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism; devotion to the socialist motherland, the people, the Communist Party, and the Soviet government; a profound understanding of their military duty; and constant readiness and ability to accomplish it successfully.

We have all conditions for the accomplishment of this task: the most advanced social system, Marxist-Leninist ideology, the moral-political unity of the Soviet people, and the scientific leadership of all aspects of the Soviet state's life, to include the organizational development of the Armed Forces, by the Communist Party. The country is nourishing the Armed Forces spiritually and materially, provides them with equipment and weapons, and reinforces



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them with manpower reserves. And since the development of the Armed Forces themselves is occurring in a spirit of general Soviet construction, all ideological work and the moral-political and psychological training of the troops are not conducted in isolation and not in a secluded manner within the framework of a military organization, but in the closest tie with the general tasks which the people and the party are accomplishing.

Each stage of social development puts forth new requirements and assigns new tasks for ideological work and for all fighters of the ideological front.

In the foreign-policy aspect, it is the necessity to intensify the struggle against bourgeois ideology, an ideology of contemporary opportunism. Ensuring the offensive nature of this struggle in every way contributes to the spread of the vivifying ideas of Marxism-Leninism on our planet and to the strengthening of socialism's world positions.

In the domestic-policy aspect, the main task of our ideological work consists of spiritually ensuring a further growth in the combat might of the Soviet Armed Forces and their constant combat readiness; it is caused by the necessity to mold a communist world outlook among the broadest masses of workers and among the men of the Armed Forces and to bring them up on the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. We have all conditions for these tasks, which have been assigned to us by the party, to be accomplished successfully.

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HANDBOOK FOR ARMY, NAVY AGITATORS DESCRIBED

Moscow SPRAVOCHNIK PROPAGANDISTA I AGITATORA ARMII I FLOTA (Handbook for the Army and Navy Propagandist and Agitator) in Russian 1978 signed to press 25 Apr 78 pp 1, 2, 262-264

[Author collective, annotation and table of contents from the book edited by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences, Prof Maj Gen D. A. Volkogonov, Voenizdat, 90,000 copies, 264 pages]

[Text] The handbook was prepared by the following authors: Col G. A. Arzumanov, Capt 1st Rank B. G. Bezlepkina, Candidate of Philosophical Sciences and Col Ye. I. Dolgoplov, Candidate of Economic Sciences and Col V. A. Zubkov, Col V. M. Katerinich, Candidate of Historical Sciences and Col P. G. Mikhnushev, Col K. M. Pogozhev (leader of the author collective), Col P. I. Surin, and Candidate of Historical Sciences and Col V. P. Khrobostov. Under the editorship of Doctor of Philosophical Sciences, Prof Maj Gen D. A. Volkogonov.

[Annotation] The handbook contains materials on the Communist Party and the Soviet motherland, on the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the successes of the Soviet people in communist construction and the achievements of the countries of the socialist commonwealth.

In the book an important place has been given to the legacy of V. I. Lenin, to the demands of the CPSU on the defense of the socialist fatherland, to the development of the Soviet Armed Forces, and to the Warsaw Pact armies. Materials are published on ideological work in the Army and Navy, and on the demands of the party on the instruction and indoctrination of the personnel.

The facts and figures contained in the handbook unmask the aggressive policy of imperialism, and show the growth of the communist, workers and national liberation movements.

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